



ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. III.

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In my last I had not time to say anything about my passage down the CLYDE, from GLASGOW to GREENOCK; and for the reasons there stated I spoke in a general manner, only, of my treatment at GLASGOW. I must now say upon that subject, that I was at the house of Mr. BELL, received as if I had been a father or a brother; that I dined there, and also at Mr. GRAY's, (writer,) with many of the first merchants of GLASGOW; that Mr. BELL's elegant and very pleasantly-situated house was at my service, for the receiving of friends, deputations from the towns and villages around; and that, in short, if I had gone to that fine city; that beautiful scene of commerce and of manufactures at the same time; if I had gone thither with power to add to the riches of the place, and to dispense honours and favours around me in all directions, I could not have been received or treated with greater favour and kindness. Mr. PRENTICE, the very respectable and able editor of the *Glasgow Chronicle*, was the only person connected with the press with whom I came in immediate contact. I should want words to describe the extent of his good offices, had not experience furnished me with the means of adequately describing it by a contrast. I say then (and that will do justice even to him), that, in character and in conduct, he showed

himself to be *precisely the contrary* of the infamous wretches, whom those two impudent women, ANNA BRODIE and FANNY WRAIGHT, hire to write in the bloody old *Times*; precisely the contrary of what was that JACK WALTER whom SCOTT ELDON made a justice of the peace, and who is now (monstrous impudence!) a Whig candidate for the county of Berks; *precisely the contrary* of what this fellow was when he was the manager of the bloody old *Times*.

As I mentioned before, Messrs. BELL, DOUGLAS of BARLOCH, and Mr. GRAY, accompanied us to GREENOCK, where we were received by the two Messrs. BAINE, who are great merchants there, and by my excellent and stanch old friends and adherents, Messrs. CAMERON, CAMPBELL, and others, respectable tradesmen in that town. Agreeably to appointment we were lodged at Mr. BAINE's country house, about three quarters of a mile out of the town, situated close on the bank of the Frith of CLYDE, with the little village of HELLENSBURGH on the other bank, and the Highlands rising up behind that.

The whole of the way down the CLYDE is interesting beyond description. It is a fine wide river at GLASGOW; gets wider and wider of course; but for several miles down it is walled on each side in the most complete manner. All the way down to our left we have Renfrewshire, very soon after we leave GLASGOW, which is in the county of Lanark. The land to our right is, first, a strip of levelish ground, with little country seats, with here and there a manufactory of some sort. To our left it is an extended flat of very fine land. There are several considerable country seats, those of Lord BLANTYRE and of Mr. SPIERS of ELDERSLIE, in particular. At about half the way down the town of DUMBARTON, lies, on our right, the Castle of DUMBARTON, on a round and almost perpendicular rock standing out in the water; an object worth travelling from the Isle of Wight to this spot barely to

see. The town of DUMBARTON lies down between two hills. The ground now becomes very hilly on our right, though it is generally cultivated for some distance back; and, behind these high grounds, the Highlands tower up; and this is the sort of coast which continues on to GREENOCK, and then continues all the way round to the corner of the main land opposite the ISLE of BUTE. About half way between DUMBARTON and GREENOCK is the little seaport, called PORT-GLASGOW; and here the ground from being flat as before, becomes rocky and lofty very near the shore, and thus continues all the way to GREENOCK.

At about seven miles from GLASGOW we pass the mouth of the famous canal, which goes close by GLASGOW, close by FALKIRK, and which connects the Frith of CLYDE with the Frith of FORTH; and thus connects the waters of the ATLANTIC with those of the German Ocean. Near DUMBARTON we passed the spot where they say are the remains of the old Roman wall, which went from the Frith of CLYDE to the Frith of FORTH; and by the means of which those gentlemen thought proper to divide the Highlands from the Lowlands of Scotland. I may as well observe here, that the river CLYDE rises in the mountains which divide the county of EDINBURGH from the county of LANARK, and that other branches of it rise out of mountains that divide the counties of PEEBLES and DUMFRIES and Ayr from the county of LANARK. The river FORTH rises at the foot of the famous mountain called BEN-LOMOND, and runs down through the country dividing PERTSHIRE from STIRLINGSHIRE, and Stirlingshire from the county of CLACKMANNAN. All to the north of the canal which joins these two Friths, is called the *North of Scotland*: the other is, of course, called the *South*.

The harbour and bay of GREENOCK are very fine. The town, which consists of thirty thousand people, is built in a little flat, the high land beginning to rise up immediately behind it to the south; the streets are regular, conveniently wide; the houses built of stone;

and everything wearing the appearance of ease, competence, and great solidity. The house of Mr. BAINE, in which I was lodged, was, in every respect, as nice an affair of the kind as I ever set my eyes on; outside, inside, and all about it, as complete as anything of the sort that I ever beheld. But, the great curiosity here, and the thing upon which the people pride themselves, and most justly, is what they call the "SHAWSWATER," of which I must speak a little, though my account must be very inadequate. For a good while I declined going to see this affair; but, at last, I did go, and I rejoice that I did, for I have seldom seen anything in my life that afforded me more pleasure. GREENOCK lies in a little flat, to the north of very high rocky hills, which stretch round behind it nearly from water to water. No fresh water stream or river came near it; and though it had public pumps or wells, it often experienced very great inconvenience from the want of fresh water. On the high land about six miles to the south of it, there was a little stream or bourne (as we call those runs of water which are occasionally dry), and which came out of one of the still loftier hills to the south. After going in a northerly direction for some distance, it took a turn to the west, and went down a deep ravine into the Frith of CLYDE, not approaching anywhere to within six miles of GREENOCK. In finding its way to the ravine, it passed along a flat at the back of the GREENOCK hills. By the means of dams, the water proceeding from this bourne, was formed into a lake; at six miles, observe, from GREENOCK, but between the lake and GREENOCK, was a chain of lofty hills, beginning at the east and terminating towards the west. Here was the water, but the difficulty was to get it to GREENOCK. After various schemes about tunnels to go under the hills, and steam-pumping, and God knows what besides, Mr. THORN, a native I believe of the Isle of BUTE, made a proposition for carrying the water to Greenock by an aqueduct, which he finally accomplished, at a comparatively trifling expense, and in a

manner so clever, as to be worthy of the admiration of every beholder ; and there are now two hundred and sixty acres of water in the grand reservoir, with three other subsidizing reservoirs of greater or less extent ; the whole amounting to 396 acres ; and there is all this water brought to the side of the high hills behind GREENOCK ; and there it comes tumbling down in various aqueducts ; not only supplying the town with water amply at all times, but furnishing the means of turning flour-mills, cotton-mills, or anything of the sort, at the cheapest possible rate. Four large mills for corn, or flax, or both, are already put in motion by this water ; they are building now, and they say that here are the means of working forty of the largest mills that can exist. The reservoir or lake, is six hundred feet above the level of the sea : the aqueduct takes the water from the tail of the ravine, which is very deep, and carries it along around the end of the high hills at the back of GREENOCK ; gets it, creeping about, in all directions, till it finally brings it to its destined spot, always by a fall of six feet in the space of a mile. To guard against the consequences of melted snow, or torrents of rain, there are self-opening and self-shutting sluices ; and, therefore, though the aqueduct is only six feet wide at the bottom and twelve feet wide at the top, its banks are never disturbed. They say, that the people were wholly incredulous as to the practicability of effecting this thing ; that scarcely anybody believed that the water could ever be brought to GREENOCK ; and that, on the day on which the aqueduct was opened for the water to proceed, not less than ten thousand persons were assembled to witness the result of this brilliant experiment. Mr. THORN, who did me the honour to accompany me and Mr. BAINE, in riding round the lake, is a man of too much sense and too much merit to set any value upon an empty title ; but if George the Fourth had made him a baronet instead of COUTTS TROTTER, WALTER SCOTT, or PARSON BATE DUDLEY, he would, at any rate, have, in some degree, diminished the contempt and dis-

gust with which men now view that hackneyed hereditary honour.

After going to the Scotch church, on Sunday the 21st, and there beholding a very decent service, and hearing, from three verses of St. PAUL's 2nd epistle to TIMOTHY, beginning at the 14th, a very able sermon in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity ; after dining, on the Monday with Mr. BAINE, the chief magistrate, in company with his colleague, and several other gentlemen of the place ; I set off (after another lecture that evening) the next day for this place. I cannot, however, take leave of GREENOCK, without observing on the contrast which it formed with all the other sea-ports that I had ever seen in my life. Captain COBB, with whom I crossed the Atlantic the last time, used to be everlastingly pestering me with his praises of GREENOCK ; about its solidity, cleanliness, and the good manners of the people. As I was going to the church, the sight brought COBB to my mind. All the people seemed to be in the streets ; all going away to their different churches ; no noise of any sort ; no dirtily-dressed person ; and not a soul to be seen who did not seem seriously engaged in the business for which the day was set apart. COBB used to say, that it was like a Connecticut sea-port ; and I dare say it is : for the religion is the same, and I dare say that the manners of the people are very much alike.

Sir MICHAEL SHAW STEWART is the landowner in and around GREENOCK ; he has a very beautiful place a little way from the town, and down by the side of the Frith ; there are many farms in a little valley going from his house round to GREENOCK ; these farms are small, but the people appear to be very comfortably off, and, though living amongst these rocky hills, twenty times as numerous as in the fine fat lands in the Lothians. The deciduous trees do not grow large ; I saw no oaks at all ; but Sir MICHAEL STEWART has some very fine woods of fir and larch upon the hills round about his house ; the evergreens flourish here surprisingly ; I never saw the *Portugal laurel* and the *arbutus* in greater perfection. The

horse-chestnut, the lime, the plane, the sycamore, and the ash, all seem to flourish as well as in any part of England. Ayrshire comes down, in one part, very near to GREENOCK. The cows are of the *Ayrshire breed*, white and red, with a large portion of red; small head and neck, fine tail, straight back; in short, the Durham cows, precisely, only upon a small scale. From these cows comes cheese, in great abundance and very fine. They say that it is the only county in Scotland that produces cheese. I should like very much to have half-a-dozen of these cows; but to get them from such a distance is next to impossible, without an enormous expense; and, perhaps, they would degenerate after all.

In the scourging days of CASTLEREAGH (who soon afterwards cut his own throat and killed himself, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent, and who was carried to his grave amidst the exulting shouts of the people of London and Westminster); in those scourging days the scourge reached even GREENOCK; corruption in her fury hunted out victims amongst the public-spirited men, even in this pious and quiet town; one of whom, deeming accusation to be a sentence of death, and giving himself up as condemned, even before he was tried for high-treason, actually *shaved his head*, that the executioner might not be able to hold it up by the hair! The jury saved him: he lived to see the end of CASTLEREAGH, and to shake by the hand one who had risked so much in defending the conduct of him and his countrymen upon that occasion! Ah! foolish and base villains of the LONDON and EDINBURGH press! If you forget these things, the reformers of Scotland do not. To the grateful recollection of these acts of mine, I owe the reception that I have met with. Relying upon this recollection, I set at nought all your instigations to Scotch hostility: the result has shown the innate virtue of this people; and also shown the soundness of my judgment.

STATESMAN VANSITTART, who began his brilliant career as Commissioner of Scotch Herrings, first started, it seems,

from this nice town of GREENOCK, which is famous for its fisheries; and, what is curious enough, the Scotch have by no means forgotten the statesman, and the small manœuvring which was played off by him, while he was in Scotland; the nice little contrivances to get himself the *freedom of the city of EDINBURGH*, and all the other pretty means by which the base creatures of old GEORGE ROSE assisted to get him puffed up, in order that there might be a pretence for giving him parcels of our money. The history of this VANSITTART is all that will be needed by our children who are now about being born, to enable them to judge of the state of degradation of their fathers. This man did what they call *study the law*; carried a *bag* (made for holding briefs) to the *quarter-sessions of READING* in Berkshire, of which county he is a native; having marched, in all possible ways, in the same line and direction as ADDINGTON, and having started with him from pretty nearly the same spot. The law not being a profitable trade with our VAN, he took to *politics*; and we shall, by-and-by, see him taking to *piety*. His first stroke in the way of getting on in the world was a *pamphlet*, written by him *in praise of the PITT-SYSTEM of finance*; and the object of which was to induce the nation to believe that the war did not at all impoverish them; and that THE DEBT which PITT's monstrous loans were creating, presented no subject of *alarm* to the mind of any sensible man, excepting the circumstance, that "*the sinking fund would pay it off too soon!*" No wonder that VAN is a peer, and a law-maker in his own right; from such hopeful beginnings what was not naturally to be expected? VAN's promotion began, as matter of course; and there being great scarcity in England, in the years 1800 and 1801, VAN was, in the former year, made "*Commissioner of Scotch Herrings*," and as such came to Scotland, under the patronage of old GEORGE ROSE, then a secretary of the Treasury, and a sinecure placeman, to the tune of three thousand pounds a year, with another sinecure place for his son WIL-

VAN, to the tune of two thousand pounds a year, or thereabouts; which secures his sons, GEORGE and WILLIAM, still have, while the weavers of PAISLEY are covered with rags and are half starved. VAN having executed his commission, went back to England, slavered over with the praises of the base part of the Scotch, and well loaded with the contempt of every Scotchman of sense and independence. The salary of the "Commissioner of Scotch Herrings" continued till he got another post, the name of which I have forgotten, but which, doubtless, he will be *desired to tell some of us* one of these days. PITT went out of office in 1801 to let in ADDINGTON, to make the peace of AMIENS for him; and VAN (famous in finance!) became, under his countryman, ADDINGTON, a *secretary of the Treasury*. There was VAN now in his element: *taxing, funding, loaning, and Exchequer-billing*; Oh! what a time for VAN! His glory, however, was too great to be uninterrupted. PITT, tired of being out of place, and his tax-eating crew sighing to be again at the honey-pot, turned out ADDINGTON: away went poor VAN, but well provided for by a *retired allowance*. PITT lived but a short time after this: the Whig Ministry that succeeded him lasted but fifteen months; the old Duke of PORTLAND became Prime Minister; and PERCEVAL, the real Minister, was placed in the post of *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; and back went VAN into his post of secretary of the Treasury. PERCEVAL having been put an end to in the year 1812, the wise LIVERPOOL became Prime Minister, and VAN, *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; in which post he remained, until succeeded by "*Prosperity Robinson*," in the year 1823, when the King did himself the honour, an honour quite worthy of such a king, to clap a coronet on the head of VAN, and put him in the house of hereditary lawgivers, under the title of "*BARON BEXLEY*," of BEXLEY, in the county of KENT; where VAN, they say, is now in the habit of *singing hymns* in his groves, on one bank of the pretty little river CRAY, having in full view, at the same time, on the other bank (at scarcely a

stone's throw distance) the house in which CASTLEREAGH cut his own throat!

Curious progress! beginning with the curing of Scotch herrings, and ending in a peerage! Curious literary progress! beginning with a pamphlet expressing fears that the national debt would be paid off too soon, and ending with the circulating of Bibles and the singing of hymns! But VAN had merits as a *statesman*, to be sure? Yes, that he had; for, in 1811, he proposed a resolution, which the 658 adopted, stating, that a "*one-pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a guinea in gold*." In 1819 he supported PEEL's Bill, and the doctrines on which it was founded, and which declared that the one-pound note *had been worth only fourteen shillings in gold in 1811*! In 1822, VAN brought in a bill (which was passed by the clever 658) to *issue small notes again*, in violation of the bill of 1819! This was VAN's last and greatest act of all; for it produced the TERRIBLE PANIC of 1825 and 1826, which has been ruining families, undermining property, and producing unspeakable misery, from that day to this! Devil take the King, I say, then, if he had not made VAN a peer! Neither Jonathan WILDE, nor any of his DESCENDANTS, ever merited a HALTER better than VAN merited a peerage!

But what is most curious in the history of VAN, is, that, while a nation, whose money matters VAN held the management of, was growing *poor*, VAN was growing *rich*! This is something very wonderful: that he should be growing rich while the nation was growing poor. In human life, generally, we find, that all belonging to the same concern become rich or become poor together. If the farmer become poor, you soon see his servants and his stock of every description exhibiting symptoms of his diminished means. If the tradesman become poor, you see all his work-people worse clad and worse fed. All being under the influence of the *same cause*, all experience a *similar effect*. Just the contrary with VAN, who is said to be worth *half a million of money*, and who, having the linnet,

the lark, and all the harmonious finches, to join him in the day, and the nightingale's melody to assist him by night, sings his hymns in some of the sweetest groves with which God has ever had the goodness to garnish the earth; just the contrary with VAN, I repeat, who has thus been rising into enormous wealth, while the industrious millions, of whose money he has so long had the fingering, have been sinking into misery; and while that DEBT which he (pious man!) was *afraid* would be paid off *too soon*, swelled up, *during his financial career, from three hundred and forty to eight hundred millions of sovereigns!* Wonderful thing! Strange spectacle! Prodigious cause, which could produce effects so opposite at one and the same time!

However, leaving the "*feelosofers*" to account for this, I cannot dismiss VAN without talking of something *practical*. How it was that VAN *got* his money it is impossible for me, *precisely*, to say: how much was brought him by the daughter of old EDEN, who was also, nearly all his life, a placeman and a pensioner at the same time; about these matters I will not speak, because I cannot speak with certainty; but I know these things; namely, that VAN had little or nothing thirty years ago; that he now has a town house, a country house, and a peerage; and that he is said to be worth a very large parcel of money, besides those estates in land which we know him to have; and I know that, though his salaries were large enough and a great deal too large, they could not have been much larger than the amount of his annual spendings during the said thirty years. Now, then, I put it to any *reasonable* man, whether we ought to be deemed impertinent and troublesome, if we were to ask VAN, in this day of our need, to *help us a little*; to give us a lift; I mean, to give us a little of his money? I am aware that it will be said by his friends, that *he owes us nothing*; that all that he has got has been *honestly gotten*; and that if *we*, sinful creatures as we are, cannot account for his having got rich while we have been getting

poor, it is because we are unable to comprehend how effective piety is in the producing of riches. Those friends of VAN will refer us to the history of GR. BLAN, giving an account of the prodigious prosperity of DON MANUEL ORDONNEZ, who was the keeper of the great poor-house of the city of VALLADOLID, and who "was so pious a man" that he *got rich* in taking care of the "concerns of the poor." I am aware of all this; I am aware that there is nothing to oppose to these observations of the friends of VAN; but still I must be permitted to say, that I can see no harm in respectfully applying to VAN to spread a little of his money about amongst us as well as his Bibles. We ask for bread, and he gives us a book; which, as far as the belly is concerned, is much about the same thing as giving us a stone. In short, not to mince the matter any longer, I am for making a *regular* application to VAN for some of his money: Poh! for the coronet and the robes! let him keep them; but, for some of his money I am for making a regular application, either in the way of *gift* or of *loan*; and, if I be in Parliament, and if no other man propose it, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, am the man to do the thing. The French republicans (sad dogs!) had what they called *des emprunts forcés*; that is to say, *forced loans*. Nay, in one or two instances, they had *dons forcés*; that is to say, *forced gifts*. God forbid that I should propose an imitation of these sad fellows; I shall tread in the steps (as far as I have any influence) of the "*heaven-born*" minister, PITT; and shall propose, in the case of VAN, nothing more than "*a voluntary loan*," or, "*a voluntary contribution*," not forgetting to remind VAN that he was one of the great literary defenders of these two methods of obtaining supplies for the relief and safety of the nation! And thus, I *for the present*, take my leave of VAN, giving him my positive assurance, that, if he and I live till I have been in Parliament a month, he shall again hear from me, who have not had my eye off him for a month at a time, during the last thirty years.

There is a neighbour of VAN, who was

brother secretary of the Treasury along with GEORGE ROSE, and who is now a noble peer under the name of FARNBOROUGH, in which parish (near Bromley in Kent) my Lord CHARLEY LONG has his mansion and park and some of his estates. I dare say he would be glad of an opportunity of lending the poor nation a little money, or even giving it some, if applied to in a respectful and every way proper manner. I am for no impertinence in these cases; for no disagreeable questioning or altercation; but just a simple and respectful appeal to the charity and generosity of the parties. However, enough of these things for the present. I must now get on with my tour; which tour my readers will, I dare say, wish to see at an end, being, as it everlastingly is, interrupted by these digressions. Well, then, to get on, we set off from GREENOCK about two o'clock, after having surveyed the SHAWS-WATER, and taken leave of our friends; and after having (which I had nearly forgotten) been to see the straw bonnets and hats of Mr. MUIR. My readers will recollect my numerous writings about this straw-bonnet manufacture, and all the instructions relative to which I have given with so much care and neatness in my little work called "COTTAGE ECONOMY;" they will recollect what infinite pains I took about it; and I can tell them, that it was not only pains that it cost me; but, altogether, more than *three hundred pounds* in the way of expense, without ever having the design or thought of profiting from it myself in any degree whatever, directly or indirectly. I was the originator and the perfecter of the whole thing myself. This manufacture gives decent and wholesome employment to many persons in the South of England, and converts into beautiful articles of dress the offal produce of our own native fields. Amongst other persons who applied to me for information respecting this matter, were two very simple but very worthy men from the ORKNEY ISLANDS, which are situated to the north of the North of Scotland, and about eight hundred miles to the north of London. Whether I deserve, as the

mortified, spiteful, and ridiculous reptile, who writes the *Scotsman* newspaper at EDINBURGH, says; whether I deserve, as this beaten reptile says I do, to be deemed an enemy of Scotchmen, let these good fellows of the ORKNEY ISLANDS tell. If they had come from my own native parish, I could not have treated them with more generosity and kindness. The distance from which they came, indeed, was an additional motive to the exercise of kindness towards them. Victuals and drink, at all times of the day, and at the same table with my own family, were at their service. I devoted to them time which I never yet bestowed upon persons of high rank in life. I showed them the various sorts of the straw; explained to them the modes of platting, of bleaching, of raising the straw; and set some young women at platting, that they might see them at the work; gave them specimens of the plat, and of the straw, and of the mode of sewing it together; wrote many letters to them afterwards, and got franks from my Lord FOLKESTONE and other members, that the postage might cost them nothing. Before this they used to plat *split-straw*; and, for the making of that poor brittle and coarse-stuff, *they used to import the straw from England!* They now raise their own straw; and about two thousand of them, in those most northern parts; in those little islands almost in the *Frozen Ocean*, now gain comfortable livings at their own little homes, by a manufacture which surpasses everything of the kind ever seen in Great Britain. Let these people say what I deserve at the hands of Scotchmen. I wonder, by-the-by, who is the *landowner* in the ORKNEYS; what proud leather-headed fool it is; and whether he has not yet discovered that it is his duty to come to me and thank me for this great benefit done to his islands; if the haughty and stupid and insolent aristocracy think it wise, tacitly, to discourage the progress of so clear a benefit to the country, merely because it cannot be encouraged without adding to my celebrity, and without creating public gratitude to-

wards me ; if they think that, by this conduct of theirs, they can prevent the people from duly estimating my services and for being grateful for them ; if the stupid things think this, or have thought this, will they now open their eyes, or will they be blind still ? Will they still persevere in showing their insolent spite ; after what they have now seen ? I think they will. To the mortification of their proud stomachs, let them know these things, that the *people*, the *millions*, everywhere say, "If any other man had done this good to the country, he would have been applauded to the skies by the aristocracy, and loaded with riches at our expense ;" that, even this base and malignant hostility (which is everywhere perceived and understood) has made the people rally round me with ten times the zeal that they otherwise would have done ; and let them, for their comfort, take this, that ninety-nine men out of every hundred, in the whole island of Great Britain, are firmly convinced that the reform will not be worth one straw *unless I be in Parliament!* There, mass of stupid pride, take that, get it down into your stomach, or chew it about and spit it out again, just which you please. If I had the power to destroy you (speaking with some exceptions), I should have as perfect a right to do it as a man has to kill a viper that is just about to stick its teeth into his flesh, and, if I were not to do it, as I certainly should not do it, the forbearance would be an act of generosity and not of justice. Ah ! turn up your upper lip, and draw up your nostril, now, do ! Be supercilious asses to the last. But, remember, that you have an account to settle with the people, who may possibly be less disposed to forbearance than I am ; and whose demands, they being just and legal, no man will have a right, even to endeavour to control. Remember *that* ; and now listen if you like, or let it alone if you don't, to the account of my progress in my tour, which will be much better employment for you than the endeavour to hatch addle-headed schemes for driving the working-people from the land of their

birth, and for raising by steam-engines corn and cattle, which there will be nobody to eat.

After viewing Mr. MUIR's great parcels of bonnets and hats, we came on through PORT-GLASGOW to Paisley, a distance of about sixteen miles. At first, and until after we pass PORT-GLASGOW, the Frith of CLYDE is close upon our left, with high and almost perpendicular rocks, covered on the top with scrubby underwood, on our right. Then gradually wheeling round to our right, we come into a country perfectly flat, stretching all round to a great distance. The land is a sort of fenny or moorish land, but apparently bearing fine crops of corn, though we saw here none of those noble fields of turnips which we saw in the counties of Berwick, Haddington, and EDINBURGH, that is to say, in the Lothians. The cows are still of the Ayrshire breed, and very fine. We arrived at PAISLEY about five o'clock, and I lectured at seven, in a large church ; I did the same the two succeeding evenings. On the 24th, I went, in consequence of an invitation which that gentleman gave me in person at GLASGOW, to dine with Mr. SPIERS, at his beautiful seat, near the CLYDE, at ELDERSLIE ; where I saw some as beautiful trees as I ever saw in the whole course of my life ; and a great many of them, too ; in short, as well-wooded a park as is to be seen in all England, and as well arranged and as neatly kept ; the pastures of this park as fine as can possibly be conceived ; scores of oxen fattening, and hundreds of the little black-faced sheep, which, I perceived, get the foot-rot sometimes, when brought upon these fat lands. Mr. SPIERS, who is called the father of the county of RENFREW, who is said to be the *oldest reformer* in the kingdom, having commenced his career in that way in 1778, who was ten years a member of Parliament for this county, who is a brother-in-law of Lord DUNDAS, I believe a nephew-in-law of Lord FITZWILLIAM, and who, of course, has had ten thousand tugs at him to withdraw him from his reforming principles, has, nevertheless, the surprisingly great merit

of having been able to resist the power of all those tugs; as a complete proof of which, I mention for the satisfaction of my readers, and for the mortification of those toad-eating, spiteful devils, the hired scribblers of the *Scotsman*, and JACK WALTER and the she-proprietors of the bloody old *Times*, the fact, so honourable to me, as well as to all the other parties concerned in it; that Mr. SPIERS (the greatest land-proprietor in the county of Renfrew) came to PAISLEY to be chairman of a dinner, given to me there, on the 26th of October, accompanied by his son-in-law, Mr. BONTINE, who is a candidate for the county (against Sir MICHAEL SHAW STEWART), whose address I shall by-and-by insert, who is a young man of great promise, and who is, I am glad to say, likely to succeed: this venerable and universally-respected gentleman, accompanied, besides, by his eldest and second sons, did me and the reformers of PAISLEY the very great honour of presiding at a dinner, which was conducted in a manner worthy the good sense and public spirit of the parties, and which, after short, neat, and pertinent speeches from the gentlemen whom I have named, and from others, and particularly from Mr. SPIERS's eldest son, who discovered, in this little specimen, quite enough to convince me of his capacity to be greatly useful to his country. After these things, this dinner terminated at a very early hour, without a single man appearing to have partaken of anything stronger than water. Here I, in fact, took my leave of the people of PAISLEY, amidst marks of friendship, such, indeed, as I have everywhere experienced, and such as would, if there were no other ties, bind me fast, to the last hour of my life, to the service of my grateful, kind, and generous countrymen.

Dalzell House, near Hamilton, 26. Oct., 1832.

The day before the dinner took place I went to see the beautiful manufacture of silk, carried on by Mr. FULTON and Son. I never like to see these machines, lest I should be tempted to endeavour to understand them. I constantly resist all the natural desire which

people, out of kindness, have to explain them to me. It is also wonderful, that as in the case of the sun and the moon and the stars, I am quite satisfied with witnessing the effects. This silk affair, however, afforded one very pleasing circumstance. It was all put in motion by a wheel, turned by three men; and there was a great number of young women and girls employed at the work, and all very neatly and nicely dressed. The things they make are beautiful beyond description. I went afterwards to see the weaving of shawls and of waistcoat-stuff at Mr. BISSETT's; the means and operation relating to which, appeared still more wonderful. In these fabrics our countrymen now surpass, not only all the rest of Europe, but those of India too; and I understand that PAISLEY surpasses all the rest of the kingdom in this respect. A blessed *Government* it must be to produce a state of things in which a *barrack*, furnished with well-fed, well-clothed, and well-armed soldiers, is established for the purpose of keeping in a state of obedience to the laws, these ingenious and indefatigably industrious people, who, while the soldiers are well fed, well clad, and well lodged, have not half a sufficiency of food of the very coarsest kind; have their bodies half covered with rags; scarcely know what a knife, fork, and plate mean; and have, in many cases, nothing but a mere whisp of straw to sleep upon! Blessed state of things! Better that the country should be abandoned; better that it should become a desert, than that such a state of things should be suffered to exist; better that destruction should come upon the whole of us, than that the makers of these beautiful goods should be thus compelled to live like hogs and dogs, while those whose bodies are decorated by these goods are wallowing in luxury, proceeding from deductions made from the earnings of these indefatigable people. On the same day, when I expected to go and see Mr. DUNCAN HENDERSON, who, from his attachment to me, or rather to my writings, had taken so much pains to cultivate my *corn*, I was informed, that

I had to see his widow, for that he had died on the day of my first arrival at GLASGOW. As a mark of my respect for the memory of so worthy a man, a man of so much public spirit, and so justly beloved, I went to see Mrs. HENDERSON, at which she was very much pleased; and she showed me a letter, written by myself to her late husband, on which he had set so much value as to have it framed and hung up as a picture, and of which letter (if I get a copy of it in time) I will insert a copy in this *Register*. Not to see him, and still more to find that he was dead, really cast a damp over my pleasures at PAISLEY; though at no place where I have ever been in my life was I ever received with more cordiality, nor was my reception anywhere ever accompanied with circumstances better calculated to leave lasting impressions of gratitude on my mind; amongst which circumstances I must by no means overlook the hospitable, the kind, the cordial, the brother-like, and sister-like manner in which I was received, lodged, and entertained by Mr. and Mrs. ARCHIBALD STEWART, of whom I took my leave yesterday morning (Saturday the 27th), and came to this place by the way of Glasgow, stopped again at Mr. BELL's, being there taken up by him and brought to HAMILTON (where again in a church) I lectured last night. I forgot to mention, that, even on the day of the dinner, I went out, in the middle of the day, and lectured at a very nice little manufacturing town called JOHNSTONE; and I will be bound to say, that a more soul-stirring sermon never came from that pulpit before. I did not melt the hearts of my audience, but I made them pretty hot, when I described the manner in which my Lady SUTHERLAND had swept the people off the land in the North. "What!" exclaimed I, "have we not a right to be upon the land of our birth? Are we to be told, that we are bound in duty to come out and venture our lives in defence of that land against a foreign enemy, and yet, that we can be swept off from it when the landowners please?" Faith, my Lady SUTHERLAND would

have had some new thoughts come into her head, if she could have witnessed the indignant and enraged looks of my hearers.

This noon-lecture at JOHNSTONE was to make up for the idle time in the evening that was to be passed at the dinner. So that, here have I been in Scotland twenty days, and I have lectured every day except the Sundays, and on each of the Sundays I have written a *Register*. Having travelled, besides, the better part of two hundred miles during the same time, slept in seven different beds! "What!" the LORD ADVOCATE and ABERCROMBIE and the POTTERS and SHUTTLEWORTH and their mountebank, and CHARLEY PEARSON and *Sergeant WILDE* and LORD MELBOURNE and the tallow-man and brewer privy-counsellors; "what!" will they all exclaim, "will this devil of ours never die and never be ill!" And old daddy BURDETT, that poor decrepit patriot, will exclaim, "What! and is he then actually to come and pull me along by the ears, 'gout' or no gout, and perhaps through 'a heavy fall of snow;' is this never-eating, never-drinking, never-sleeping, never-resting, inflexible, hard-hearted dog, to come and remind me of what I used to say about the regiment and the room; about Lady LOUISA PAGET and Mrs. Fox and her daughters; and about 'hired sheriffs, Parliaments, and kings;' is he to come at last, in reality, and drag me as a badger is dragged out of his hole, and remind me of what I used to teach about the 'necessity of pulling down great families;' and, above all things, is he to come and drive me out to face the cheated people of WESTMINSTER, or compel me to help him 'to tear the leaves out of the accursed Red Book!'"

From GLASGOW to HAMILTON (near which is the famous palace of the Duke of that name), the road runs along not far from the CLYDE; and we enter, in fact, into what is called "the vale of the Clyde," which has in it everything that can be imagined that is beautiful. Corn-fields, pastures, orchards, woods, beautiful in their own form as well as in the

variety and fine growth of the trees. Dr. DREAD-DEVIL (who wrote in the same room that I write in when I am at *Bolt-court*) said, that there were *no trees* in Scotland, or at least something pretty nearly amounting to that. I wonder how they managed it to take him about without letting him see trees. I suppose that lick-spittle BOSWELL, or Mrs. PROZZI, tied a bandage over his eyes, when he went over the country which I have been over. I shall sweep away all this bundle of lies. I have no whim and no prejudice to gratify: it is my business to speak of things as I find them. On the 1st of November, I am to go to LANARK, which is at the "*falls of the Clyde*." I defer my account of this vale till I have been thither, and until I have seen both banks of this beautiful river. How surprised my readers will be to hear of Scotch orchards, one single orchard being worth from five hundred to a thousand pounds a year; and that, too, an orchard not exceeding ten or twelve English acres in extent; and, how indignant they will be when they are told that the present Reform Bill, brought in by a native Scotchman, GIVES FEWER MEMBERS TO ALL SCOTLAND, than are given to a population in England NOT EXCEEDING THAT OF EDINBURGH ALONE, and not anything like that of GLASGOW alone!

But to remark on these matters, and to prove to Englishmen, that this treatment of Scotland is as injurious to England as it is to Scotland herself, must be put off till the next *Register*, which will be dated from I cannot tell where,

WM. COBBETT.

THE DEVIL

GRINDING HIS TEETH AND CURSING.

READER, you never saw the devil, of course, and, unless you read the *Scotsman* or the bloody old *Times* newspapers, I dare say you never will; but, supposing him to be well represented in the caricatures that we have recently seen in

London; and supposing him to be in a dreadful rage on account of some great disappointment; matter would come out of his mouth something like that which the *Scotsman* of yesterday, the 27th instant, has belched out in his rage at the kind treatment that I have met with in Scotland; and particularly at the thought of a *public dinner* being to be given to me at GLASGOW. Read the article, I pray you, and you will see how the wretch writhes; you will think that you hear his vile blood boiling under his dirty skin. A dinner! Ah, why does nobody give him a dinner? He knows very well he is the man that ought to have public dinners given him; that he is the man that ought, in reason and in justice, to be the object of public approbation; and yet his dull-eyed and besotted countrymen cannot perceive it! Well, if I were he, I would let them perish then; I would take no notice of such stupid creatures! But, what will the beast say, then, to the dinner at PAISLEY; to the ringing of the bells at FALKIRK; to various other such demonstrations in every town and every village that I have gone near to? Why, he will say that his countrymen are all rogues or madmen. Well, then, why not let them alone. But, seriously speaking about this matter, the hireling fellow would be wholly unworthy of notice, if he were not the tool of the Whig-faction, and particularly of JEFFREY and ABERCROMBIE, whom, if I had been a little earlier, I would have blown out of the water, even at EDINBURGH itself. These men clearly see that I have brought into Scotland a mass of information, which will finally be their total overthrow. They see that I have put the struggle upon a new footing. That it is no longer Whig-faction against Tory-faction; but both these factions combined against the *phalanx of the people*. They think that I am likely to be one of the leaders of that phalanx; and, therefore, rat never sighed for the destruction of cat so sincerely as they sigh for mine. This poor hired reptile puts forth nothing of his own; he is merely a dog set on by his employer; and what he writes is only worth reading as

it shows that I have stung those employers to the quick. With this preface I insert the article, which exhibits the devil grinding his teeth.

COBBETT IN GLASGOW.

To the Editor of the Scotsman.

Glasgow, 29. October, 1832.

"SIR,—It is now a long time since I had the pleasure of addressing you. The political excitement having in a considerable degree gone down with us, things have been somewhat stagnant for the last four or five weeks, with the exception perhaps of our *harmonious* Jubilee. To revive us a little, however, we have had a visit, as well as you, of the great Lion from the South, who has condescended to show us hyperboreans his teeth, and to growl a bit after his most approved fashion. He has been well lionized here, and is likely to be still further entreated. Nearly a brace of hundreds, a public dinner, and the unequivocal patronage of at least one of our Parliamentary aspirants, are no bad returns for three nights' performance of this ancient vender of political cataplasms.

"There are certain substances in nature which possess a marvellous property of attracting sticks, straws, and other worthless substances. Our friend Cobbett possesses this faculty in great perfection. Wherever he goes, by a sort of natural attraction, he is immediately surrounded by all those whose more volatile opinions, as well as generous contempt for rigid public virtue, naturally dispose them to welcome one who either supplies to them arguments for their own views, or at least powerfully laughs others out of any which they may chance to possess. However, to say the truth, we have laughed heartily *with*, and sometimes at, the old gentleman. The wight is indeed to be pitied who expected any illumination from William Cobbett; yet is he very entertaining, and occasionally very happy in his sarcasms. Like a skilful coachman, he always applies his whip 'to the raw.' With the

"morbidity of our social system, no man is better acquainted, or more skilful and amusing in his demonstrations; and although not a bit cleverer than his neighbours at untying any of the Gordian knots of our perplexed politics, he is not afraid to deal with them after a more succinct and less laborious fashion. Now, this being more congenial to all those who would rather *act* than *think*, comprehending a respectable minimum of society, it is not to be denied that the advent of the *Great Grumbler* has been hailed with infinite satisfaction by the above description of persons, and with a more chastened delight by the lovers of amusement in general.

"We can understand why all men from the Lord Provost downwards, (who, good easy man, it is thought had no *easy* seat of it the first lecture) should have been desirous to hear Cobbett; but speculation is afloat as to the motives and objects of the *minimum* who are going to honour their idol *with a public dinner*. By some, it is conjectured *electioneering* influences of no small weight are expected to result from his visit and dinner; by others, that the 'Political Union' will incontinently declare against the debt being held to be *national*; while, by others of more sanguine temperament, it is imagined that in William Cobbett they behold, in so far at least as the *dead weight* is concerned, another Peter-the-Hermit, who perambulates the country to deliver the body corporate 'from the body of this death!' Whatever may be the occult reasons for bending the knee at a public board, to the *immediate abolisher* of national debt, tithes, paper-money, pensions, standing army, corn-laws, malt, and all taxes whatsoever—to him, the greatest political renegade who has ever lived—who has been at once the eulogist and defamer of Burke, the contemner and worshipper of Tom Paine, the heartless detractor of Thomas Muir, and the ungrateful libeller of Sir Francis Burdett—the vulgar panderer to Eng-

“lish vulgar pot-house prejudices, and
 “the unceasing detractor of Scotland
 “and its ‘*antalletual*’ people—what-
 “ever, we say, may be the motive for
 “bending the knee to such an honest,
 “patriotic man, it is a subject of morti-
 “fication and shame to all of whose
 “character and talents Glasgow has any
 “reason to be proud. You will proba-
 “bly hear from me again upon this
 “laughter-exciting topic; in the mean
 “time, I remain, sir, &c.”

NEWS FOR LONDON.

To Dame Anna Brodie and Mrs. Fanny Wraight, She-Proprietors of the bloody old Times, and Cousins of Jack Walter, who has the incomparable impudence to offer himself as a Candidate for the County of Berks.

ABUSIVE WOMEN,

Dean SWIFT says, that, “when
 “women behave like blackguard men,
 “they are no longer to be considered
 “as belonging to the sex of which they
 “wear the ordinary apparel, but are to
 “be considered as bullying men, and
 “are to be kicked down stairs accord-
 “ingly.” Not being disposed to go up
 your stairs for any purpose whatsoever,
 I cannot, of course, act towards you
 upon the principle of SWIFT, though I
 am determined to go and overhaul
 Cousin JACK as soon as I get back to
 the *Sooth*. In the meanwhile I send
 you a piece of news from the *Glasgow*
Chronicle of yesterday, the 27th inst.;
 it will give you singular pleasure, I
 dare say, and may serve to comfort
 Cousin JACK until I can get back to
 him, when I will give him comfort
 enough I will warrant him.

“Mr. Cobbett arrived from Paisley
 “early this forenoon at Mr. Bell’s,
 “Clyde-buildings, where he resides
 “during his visit to Glasgow, and soon
 “after, accompanied by his secretary
 “and Mr. Bell, set off in a post-chaise
 “for Hamilton, where he is to lecture
 “this evening. We understand that
 “Mr. Cobbett, after visiting Hamilton
 “Palace, &c., will proceed to Dalzell,

“and return to Glasgow on Monday,
 “in time for the public dinner to be
 “given him on that day.”

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

It is rumoured that the Whigs are likely to find it convenient to dissolve the Parliament *very early in December*. I hope they will give me time to get into Berkshire, to tell the people there something about JACK WALTER and his man STODDART. However, I shall get there if I can. I shall quit GLASGOW on the 3. of November, shall go by KILMARNOCK and DUMFRIES to CARLISLE, thence to DARLINGTON, and then push on towards the Wen with as little interruption on my route as possible. Let us get together; let me be one of the number; and we will soon see whether laws are to be made by candle-light, and the penalty of death voted for by men coming reeking from a smoking-room, or men picking their teeth, or belching out the fumes of brandy-and-water. We will soon see whether there be to be a real reform or no reform at all.

SCOTCH REPRESENTATION.

HERE it is that the reform will work wonders. Scotland ought to have had a hundred and twenty or thirty members at least, which I do not put upon paper to *have it read while I am in the country*; for this that I am now writing cannot possibly be read in Scotland till two days, at least, after I am out of it. I will show hereafter how beneficial it would have been to England, as well as to all the rest of the kingdom, if Scotland had had her due share of members; and, oh! if I, when at Edinburgh, had known what I now know, what a basting I would have given that Lord Advocate, upon his own dunghill, for his baseness in bringing in a bill which takes, first, the town of DUMBARTON in the county of DUMBARTON; then goes across the CLYDE, into the county of RENFREW, to tack

on PORT-GLASGOW and the county-town of RENFREW itself; then goes into the county of LANARK, to tack RUTHERGLEN on to the list; and, not yet finding enough, again crosses the county of RENFREW, and goes (forty miles from DUMBARTON) to find KILMARNOCK, in the middle of the county of Ayr; and all this in order to get together a population of *forty or fifty thousand souls*, to be considered as belonging to one borough, in order to make the whole of these populous and commercial or manufacturing places worthy of having **ONE MEMBER**; while that same LORD ADVOCATE had voted for the English bill, giving **TWO MEMBERS** to Baring's borough of THETFORD, which contains *three thousand four hundred and fifty souls*! Oh! had I known this before my lecturing at EDINBURGH, how I would have roasted the "DEMOSTHENES of Scotland!" However, omission is not remission; and that the "DEMOSTHENES" shall find.

Notwithstanding all these contrivances, however, SCOTLAND will act her part well; she will do her best at any rate. She will send some men that will do their duty. That my readers in general may be able to form some judgment as to the mood that the Scotch people are in, I will here insert, **FIRST**, the address of Sir JOHN MAXWELL to the electors of PAISLEY; **SECOND**, the county of RENFREW pledges; **THIRD**, Mr. BONTINE's address to the electors of the county of RENFREW; **FOURTH**, Mr. FAIRRIE's address to the electors of GREENOCK, which has been answered by Mr. WALLACE, who is also a candidate for GREENOCK; but I have not any address published by Mr. WALLACE. After these, I shall insert the address of Mr. PEASE to the electors of DURHAM, which I ought to have inserted before. In Lanarkshire there is at present no opposition to Mr. MAXWELL, who is heartily approved of by all the good reformers. Every one makes sure of Mr. DOUGLAS of BURLACH being one of the members for GLASGOW; and, though there are several candidates, there is no one who does not profess himself a friend of a very great change for the better. The

documents that I am about to insert are worthy of being read with great attention by my English readers; for these documents alone will be sufficient to convince them, that Scotland will not be trod under foot.

SIR J. MAXWELL'S

Second Address to the Free and Independent Electors of Paisley.

MY FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,—Now that the great charter of our national liberties is fairly sealed, I take the freedom of congratulating you on your obtaining possession of those just rights for which you have so nobly exerted yourselves; and as you have now entered into that era which will form one of the most remarkable epochs in our national history, I conceive it necessary again to address you in reference to that important situation I have been called to by so great a portion of all classes of the intelligent inhabitants of your populous, and I trust soon to see, flourishing town.

As a warm friend to the principle that every man who presents himself as a candidate for the honour of a seat in the legislature, should give pledges to his constituents of the course he will pursue in regard to those great measures necessary for bringing back the country to that state of prosperity from which it has of late been fast receding; I take this opportunity of again referring to those pledges you have presented to me; and that there may be no misunderstanding either as to their import or of my acceptance of them, and for the information of all concerned, I shall insert them here.

They are as follows:—

1st. That I will neglect nothing in my power to obtain an immediate repeal of the Septennial Act, and the re-establishment of triennial Parliaments.

2nd. That I shall endeavour to secure the total abolition of all monopolies and restrictions on trade, particularly the corn-laws, and all other laws affecting the importation of human food; the

trade with India and China, and the bank monopoly.

3rd. That I will do all in my power to procure a reduction of taxes, and, in particular, the repeal of the assessed taxes, and of all taxes on knowledge, or affecting articles of health and cleanliness; and also the abolition of all unnecessary offices and unmerited pensions, and generally, that I will resist every wasteful or lavish expenditure of the public money.

4th. That I will do all in my power to obtain a thorough burgh reform, so as to have the election of the magistracy and council placed in the hands of the burghesses.

5th. That I will endeavour to procure a revision and change in the forms and manner of administering the laws, so as to distribute cheap and expeditious justice to all classes of society, and a cheap and simple mode of conveying property.

6th. That I will insist for the entire and speedy abolition of colonial slavery.

7th. That I will support the abolition of the law of entail.

8th. That I will support an act for placing the heritable property of persons dying intestate, in some measure on a similar footing with moveable property.

9th. That I will, at all times, and in all things, act in my capacity of representative, conformably to the wishes of my constituents deliberately expressed; and if I shall not, at any time, feel inclined to do so, I shall, at their request, resign to them the trust committed to me.

MY RESPECTED COUNTRYMEN,—I assure you, that, as a candidate for the honour of representing you, I at once accepted of the whole of the above pledges with pleasure: the shortening the duration of parliaments; the abolition of the corn-laws, and of the East India Company's, and of every other monopoly; the reduction of taxes, particularly those on knowledge; a reform in the burgh elections; the cheap and expeditious administration of justice; the abolition of slavery, not only in our own colonies, but over the whole globe; and the abolition of the law of entail, as

well as that of primogeniture, are for the most part objects, you are aware, I have long earnestly pursued, and to obtain the whole of them no exertion or influence in my power shall be wanting, whether I am returned to Parliament or not; and of all your pledges, there is none I will abide by more readily than that of resigning whenever I fail to give satisfaction to my constituents.

But to render some of the measures you have pointed out equitable, it will be necessary that others be adopted, with regard to which, it is proper you should fully understand my views. In the first place, in justice to the farmer, the abolition of the corn-laws will require that a revision of contracts should take place, in order that landlords may not have the pretext of law for committing acts of injustice; and it is also necessary that the same course should be followed between the nation and the national creditor, before any beneficial reduction of taxes can be expected; but whether this is to be by an alteration of the currency or otherwise, no measure shall have my support which has not for its object the preserving of the precious metals as the only legal tender. The present state of Ireland calls loudly for the abolition of tithes, and in carrying this into effect, it will be necessary to institute an inquiry into the state of the church establishment generally. Some alteration of the Reform Act, in connexion with the shortening of the duration of Parliaments, may also be requisite: and while, from the unexampled unanimity with which that measure has been received by the country, it is entitled to a fair trial; yet should an extension of the elective franchise, the lessening the expense, or any other improvement be called for, I will be ready to give it my best support.

At an early period I expect to have the pleasure of waiting upon you in person, when, if required, I will cheerfully explain myself more fully on any point of legislation, which in the above outline may be omitted; and I have only again to state, that if I am so far honoured with your confidence as to be returned your representative, nothing in

my power will be wanting to make your sentiments known, and to enforce your views in Parliament. My unwearied aim shall be to secure the prosperity and happiness of the country at large, and in particular, that of the independent inhabitants of Paisley.

I have the honour to remain,

Your obliged servant,

JOHN MAXWELL.

Pollok, 28. July, 1832.

COUNTY OF RENFREW PLEDGES.

Within the Saracen's Head Inn, Paisley, upon the 2. August, 1832, at one o'clock p.m.

At a General Meeting of Delegates, elected and sent from the freeholders in and about Neilston, Barrhead, Johnstone, Kilbarchan, Bridge of Weir, and a body of farmers in the abbey parish of Paisley, attended by several freeholders from the neighbourhood of Lochwinnoch, and some other parts of the landward portion of the county of Renfrew ;

Mr. JAMES CALDWELL was called to the chair.

Mr. Dunlop of Carlibar laid before the meeting a communication which he, as chairman of the last meeting of delegates, had received from Mr. Thomas Baird of Pollokshaws, which with a writing, bearing to be the resolutions of a meeting of electors held in that town, were read ; and in reference thereto, this meeting regrets that, after such an arduous struggle for reform, these electors should have hesitated at last in avowing their sentiments on some of the more prominent and well-known abuses that exist in our national affairs, when about to have a member chosen to represent them in the first reformed House of Commons ; so as to ascertain, by means of explicit pledges, that he will support their views. And more especially it is regretted that they should have thought of pursuing a separate course by themselves, different from the rest of the county, on this important subject.

The meeting having now proceeded to the business for which the delegates assembled, it was, in terms of the

instructions to them from the freeholders in the several quarters above-mentioned,

Resolved—That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament, ought to forward and support the views and wishes of their constituents ; and whenever they cannot do so, it is their bounden duty to resign their office. Therefore, it appears to this meeting, that in order to secure the legitimate objects of representation, the member who may be selected for this county ought to give the pledges following, viz. :

1st. I will neglect nothing in my power to obtain an immediate repeal of the Septennial Act, and the re-establishment of triennial Parliaments.

2d. That I shall endeavour to secure the total abolition of all monopolies and restrictions on trade, particularly the corn-laws, and all other laws affecting the importation of human food ; the trade with India and China, and the Bank monopoly.

3d. That I will do all in my power to procure a reduction of taxes, in particular a repeal of all taxes on knowledge, or affecting articles of health and cleanliness ; also the abolition of all unnecessary offices, and unmerited pensions ; and, generally, that I will resist every wasteful or lavish expenditure of the public money.

4th. That, along with the abolition of the corn-laws, I will support a revision of the contracts between landlords and tenants, so as to substitute a grain rent for 'money-rents, where these are not already the rule ; and, generally, proportion the landlord's claims upon his tenant in the changed state of farm produce.

5th. That I will exert myself to procure a revision of the laws and statutes relating to the turnpike and parish roads and bridges in Scotland, with the view of having the management of these placed upon an improved and more responsible footing ; and of having all intromissions regarding these published annually to the public.

6th. That I will do all in my power to obtain a thorough burgh reform, so

as to have the election of the magistracy and council placed in the hands of the burgesses and householders.

7th. That I will endeavour to procure a modification of the game-laws, and a revision and change in the forms and manners of administering the laws in Scotland generally, so as to distribute cheap and expeditious justice to all classes of society, and a cheap and simple mode of conveying property.

8th. That I will insist for the entire and speedy abolition of colonial slavery; and that, in our relation with other countries, I will endeavour to advance the great interests of peace, liberty, and human improvement.

9th. That I will support, with all my power, freedom of conscience, and freedom of speech and opinion, unlimited toleration in matters of religion, and complete publicity in everything in which the public is concerned.

10th. That I will institute, or assist in the institution of an inquiry into the state of the Church Establishment, with a view to remove the abuses which dishonour it.

11th. That I will exert all my power to have the tithe-system of Ireland revised and improved, and a salutary provision made for the poor of that country.

12th. That I will support the abolition of the law of entail.

13th. That I will support an act for placing heritable property of persons dying intestate, in some measure on a similar footing with moveable property.

14th. That I shall use every effort in my power to obtain the speedy abolition of impressment for the navy, and of flogging in both the army and navy.

15th. That I will support a revision of contracts between the nation and the national creditor, with the view of procuring a proper adjustment of the national debt.

16th. That I will at all times and in all things, act in my capacity of representative, conformably to the wishes of my constituents, deliberately expressed; and if I shall not at any time feel inclined to do so, I shall at their request resign to them the trust committed to me.

It was further resolved,

1st. That the influential voice of the new freeholders, not being confined to the elections merely, but intended of course to bear on all other important questions in the country, it is alike their duty and their interest to have their claims immediately enrolled, as, without this, their official usefulness to themselves and to the community will be lost. And it is hoped that each district will immediately appoint committees to give directions and assistance to their fellow-freemen in the registration of their claims.

2d. That this meeting earnestly recommend unanimity among all the electors in the county, on the subject of the ensuing election, and in the full confidence that Sir M. Shaw Stewart, the present excellent representative, will be ready to accept the pledges now adopted, and thereby obviate all contest for the suffrages of the new constituency. The chairman is appointed to transmit a copy of these pledges to him, and respectfully to solicit his answer, for the guidance of the delegates, by Wednesday next, the 8th inst., to which day, at 1 o'clock p.m., this meeting will stand adjourned.

3d. That the thanks of this meeting are due to Sir John Maxwell, for the noble example he has given in accepting the pledges proposed to him by the electors of Paisley, and for the cordial manner in which he recognises the principle of such a course in his late address to the electors.

(Signed) JAMES CALDWELL,
Chairman.

TO THE LIBERAL AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF REN- FREW.

MY FRIENDS,—The obstacle which prevented me from acceding to your very flattering and generally-expressed wish of becoming a candidate for the representation of this county, when I had the honour of meeting with your respectable body of delegates, on the

6th of September, and to which I alluded in my address to you of the following day, being now removed by the liberal and public-spirited answer which Mr. Spiers gave to your deputation on the 6th instant, and learning both from the address then delivered to him, and from subsequent communications I have received, that you still entertain the same feelings towards me, I consider it due to you, and to myself, thus to announce that it is with pride and gratification I accept of your invitation, and declare myself a candidate for the high honour and important trust of representing you in the first reformed Parliament.

Holding the opinion as I do, that a member of Parliament should truly represent the views and support the interests of his constituents, rather than his own preconceived or rashly-adopted notions, or in other words, that he should be really the representative, not of himself, but of those who elect him, I need scarcely say, that I consider it peculiarly necessary, not only that his political sentiments should be understood to coincide with those of the people whom he represents, but that he should unequivocally show that they do so, by giving specific pledges, at least on all those leading measures of legislation, on which the country is generally agreed. This seems to me the more expedient at this eventful time, when so many changes are expected, and indeed necessary to be adopted in the system of our Government, and without which, I fear the people would run no small risk of having the Reform Act, which has cost so much trouble, rendered in a great measure, useless.

To many of you my political sentiments are pretty well known, but I shall be most happy to meet with you personally, in districts or otherwise, and explain my views *specifically* on all subjects of necessary reform. In the meantime, I beg it to be understood, that as it is from no personal motives I now come forward, but solely to aid you in preserving the county from falling into a state of vassalage, I shall be most ready to retire, if, before

the election, you select any other candidate more likely to further your views, and to co-operate with you in his favour.

I have the honour to be,
My friends,

Your fellow-reformer,
R. CUNNINGHAME BONTINE.

Finlaystone, 15. Oct., 1832.

MR. FAIRRIE'S ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF GREENOCK.

GENTLEMEN,—It was my wish to have delayed the announcement which I now make, until the Reform Bill, the new and glorious charter of the liberties of Scotland, had passed into a law. But Mr. Wallace having taken the field, I am compelled to come forward instantly with the intimation that I mean to offer myself as a candidate for the honour of being your representative in Parliament.

I lay claim to your support on the ground that I "have had every opportunity of being acquainted with the feelings and wishes of the inhabitants on "most great national subjects;" and "that "from my youth I have been exerting "myself in the promotion of our most "important charities and institutions."

Brought up in our national church, I feel a sincere attachment to it as the simplest and purest form of an establishment. By its original constitution, the heads of families were entitled to a control in the appointment of their pastors, and I certainly have always felt desirous of the reintroduction of such a check on the exercise of patronage. The churches of England and Ireland form a perfect contrast in almost every respect to ours; and in their pluralities, and their non-residences, and the inequalities of the incomes of the clergy, call for the exercise of the cautious but firm hand of the reformers.

Such, Gentlemen, are the sentiments which I entertain upon the most important of these topics, respecting which you would naturally be desirous of

learning my opinions. And I have only further to add, that should I be fortunate enough to obtain a majority of your suffrages, you may rely on my unceasing endeavours being employed in the advancement of the true interests of the country, more particularly of Greenock.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN FAIRRIE.

Greenock, 2. July, 1832.

SPEECH OF MR. PEASE,

ONE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,
AT A RECENT MEETING OF THE
ELECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN DI-
VISION OF THE COUNTY OF DUR-
HAM.

MR. PEASE (after having been introduced by Mr. Mewburn), addressed the assemblage to the following effect:—If he had listened to the feelings of his own breast,—if he had consulted only the dictates of his own judgment,—as to whether he ought to stand forward as a candidate for the representation of the county of Durham, he should soon have got a plain and decisive answer. But when it came to this point,—would he, or would he not, obey the call, not of 4 or 5 but of 800 or 1,000 of his fellow-countrymen, who entertained a conviction that he would protect their rights, guard their privileges, and watch over their interests, the question arose whether or not he was ready and willing to serve them with zeal, honour, integrity, and the greatest application and industry he could bring to the task? These were the feelings which prompted him to accept their flattering and honourable invitation. (Cheers.) This, he apprehended, would effectually rid him of any imputation of presumption on his part. (Cheers.) If it were asked what were the purposes he proposed to effect by being returned as one of their representatives to Parliament, he would give the question an explicit answer. That nothing but a sense of duty to his country, and his desire to justify the partial and kindly feelings that had

been evinced towards him, by those who solicited him to come forward as a candidate, by a strict and undeviating attention to the furtherance of the important and various interests of the division, could have induced him to accept their invitation. (Cheers.) He was a friend to every interest, in short, to be found within the circumference of the district. He had nothing further to recommend him to their notice. He had no high birth or connexions to boast of—he could not take out his purse and say, if the electors would not take him for love they should for money—he would not say he would take their farms from them if they would not vote for him; but if they had farms he would endeavour to make them prosper on them. (Cheers.) He trusted, however, that it would be deemed no reproach to him that he had not birth, rank, or high associations, to encourage him in aspiring to what he regarded as a most honourable distinction. (Cheers.) They must recollect that all men were not born in castles or palaces—it was not the lot of every person to spend hundreds and thousands of pounds, just as if money was to be picked up in the streets: he knew how difficult it was to get money—how hard a task to fill a purse, and how easy a one to empty it (cheers and laughter); and it was precisely on these grounds that he was desirous of having a seat in the legislature; it was on these grounds that the wishes of his constituents would be his wishes—their interests his interests; and to promote the former and protect the latter would be the great and leading objects of all his exertions if, by their favour, he should be elected one of their representatives. (Cheers.) He should feel for their difficulties, he would delight in their prosperity; he would be a sharer in their joys, and would participate in their sorrows—he would know the burdens that pressed upon them; and would ever cherish those feelings which a representative ought constantly to have in his bosom, lest, when he got into the House of Commons, and no longer saw the faces of his constituents, he should forget their wishes and neces-

sities, and think only of attending to his own wants instead of benefiting them. It was for these reasons he was not ashamed to own his rank in life. With regard to the agricultural and commercial interests of the country, he did not know which to mention first; he was quite positive they were one and the same. He knew that commerce could not flourish unless agriculture flourished also; and he was alike confident that agriculture must go down if commerce forsook the country. (Cheers.) He must ever consider their interests inseparable, and if he should be sent to Parliament, he would go there as a man bound to hear both sides of the question, and after having done so, to decide as became an honest and enlightened legislator, upon the evidence and the arguments that had been adduced, and upon these alone. (Cheers.) Further than this he did not wish to go, and would not. (Cheers.) He was well aware of the cant and slang which were generally adopted by candidates at elections; but he would neither say nor do any thing to please any particular party, or to elevate one class of the community at the expense or by the depression of another. (Cheers.) In making this remark, he begged to be understood as indulging in no reflection upon either of his brother candidates. Referring to the present state of public affairs, he might, in agricultural phrase, say that though England had had a grand ploughing-day—though she had ploughed down fields that were over-grown with weeds and corruption—though she had cut down those weeds, and uprooted that corruption—the future fertility of the land would depend upon the sort of seed that should hereafter be sown; for if it were sown with the same seeds as before, however well the ground might be fallowed, the crop would still be the same. (Cheers.) But if they would look at home—if they were to act as though they considered that Reform had to begin at their own doors, and would elect only such men as were qualified to serve their country, by fairly promoting the interests of every branch of the national industry, instead of

looking only to the advancement of one interest, and that interest their own, they might expect to secure that best of all results—the general prosperity and happiness of the whole country. (Loud cheers.) He exhorted them to consider this subject maturely and seriously; for the duty which the people of England had now to perform was one which did not relate merely to the affairs of a month or a year—it did not involve considerations important only to themselves, but matters of the mightiest consequence to their children, and to generations yet unborn; for, according to the example shown at the approaching election, he firmly believed, not only the fate of this country, but the destinies of the empire, for ages yet to come, would be affected. He was anxious, therefore, that the electors of this district should show that they were not instruments or slaves in the hands of any man or party, but that they would exercise their votes as they should think best for the common interest of all classes, and would neither be tricked nor intimidated on this the most important point of public duty. (Cheers.) Many bright examples were recorded, of instances in which, as regarded the present crisis, neither threats nor cajolery could induce electors to swerve from the path of independence and integrity,—to betray the interests of their country, or to sacrifice the rights of their children and posterity. (Cheers.) With respect to the agricultural interest, he was astonished that any individuals, calling themselves men of honour, should go from place to place, accusing him of designs which, if he entertained them, would be calculated to destroy his own property. This was one of the most ungenerous and unfounded statements that could be uttered; for he would avow here, as he had done in every other quarter of the district, that he considered the agriculture of the country to be the prop and support of our national greatness. (Loud cheers.) He felt perfectly convinced that it was the first and greatest interest of the country, and that if we wished to build a superstructure of commerce or manu-

factures, it must be based upon agriculture. (Cheers.) If he were asked whether he would give to any class peculiar or exclusive privileges, he would say "No." He could not wish to see farmers reduced lower in the scale of prosperity than they were at present. (Cheers.) Having his eyes open, and knowing the burdens which the farmers of this country had to bear—that they had to pay tithes, church-rates, highway-cess, and poor-rates—he would ask whether any man could, for a moment, hold it to be either just or expedient to bring in foreign corn, grown by those who had no such imposts to sustain, and produced by the labour of men fed upon stuff which he should blush to offer to an Englishman's lips. (Cheers.) For those reasons, he was an advocate for giving full and adequate protection to agriculture. (Renewed cheers.) He would not, now, enter any further into the consideration of this question; but he should be ready to state, to any gentleman who might ask him to do so, his opinion upon the rate of duties, and the period for which these duties should be enforced, upon the importation of foreign grain into this country. He thought it was impossible for the farmers to be placed in a worse condition than they were at this time; and he would quit the subject, for the present, with this observation,—that he felt deeply for the difficulties of the cultivators of the soil; and if he had not hitherto paid the same attention to agriculture as to commerce and manufactures, he was not too old to learn, and was willing to receive instruction. (Reiterated cheering and loud laughter.) He declared again he would never go to Parliament as the advocate of one interest. He knew that many persons whom he was addressing were not electors—it made no difference with him: He knew it was by the favour of the electors only he must stand or fall; but if he were returned to Parliament, he should consider himself as the representative of every man, woman and child, in the district,—and more than that, it would be his constant study, wish, and endeavour, to represent them effectively. (Cheers.)

He would not advert at much length to the state of things as they existed under the old system. But he would say, that if the people of England had known the way in which their money was squandered, they would have been still more discontented with their situation than they actually were. There were such lists of "Extraordinaries!" Aye, extraordinaries indeed. (A laugh.) Things could never be right till the representatives knew, months before the estimates were introduced, what these were for. It was too much for them to be called upon to vote 5,000*l.* to this person, for doing nothing, 10,000*l.* to that for doing very little, and other vast sums, for nobody knew what. How, he begged to ask, could a seaman stop a leak if he did not know where it was? But the mode heretofore adopted was, to bring forward the estimates when very few members were in the House, and most of them asleep. In this manner, thousands and millions of the public treasure had been voted away, sub silentio. He considered it most necessary to watch the tap; and if any of the old leaven men were sent back to Parliament, it would be necessary to watch the bung-hole as well as the tap. (A laugh.) He was satisfied the money of the nation could not have gone out of the spigot-hole only; or we should not have been 800 millions in debt. (Cheers.) If the people had had such representatives as Joseph Hume—who, long-headed Scotsman as he was, was yet a true-hearted friend of the English people,—so far from having incurred this lavish waste, they would always have had a shilling's worth for their shilling—aye, and it would have gone hard if, in driving a bargain, they did not get thirteen-pence for their shilling. (Cheers and laughter.) If England had been governed in this spirit for the last forty years, instead of going about the world, tinkering the vessels of every other state, regardless of the leak in her own, we should have had occasion to look into the dictionary to find the meaning of the word "oppression." (Continued cheering.) But he had heard that sundry colonels and captains, and a

certain noble marquis, had been much shocked by his observations on this point. "What a vagabond," said they, "that Mr. Pease must be, to go about the country, in such a way, protesting against war!" It was well for such men to praise the bridge that carried them well over, it was well for them and for noble lords to extol a system which gave them honours and rewards. It was not for them to complain of war, or of the cost it entailed upon the country; but it was for him (Mr. Pease) and for the people, upon whom the burden of supporting it alighted, to condemn and prevent it—for though others had obtained honours and glory, the only honour and glory which the people of England had enjoyed was that of paying the piper. (Cheers and laughter.) The late war had chained a millstone around our necks which, while other nations were fast rising into eminence, would bow us to the earth for many a long year. But he did not despair. If the reformed parliament would make economy the order of the day, be careful of the public money, commit no waste, and pay men only as they deserved, the time would come when the national resources would be fully adequate to our wants, and a great reduction of taxation would take place. (Cheers.) But to look a little further into this subject. If we had not spent our millions in manning ships and equipping armies, to bolster up tyranny and oppression in different parts of Europe, we might have had the same quantity of tea for 2d. or 3d. for which we now paid 5d. or 6d.,—good drink for 1½d. instead of 3d.—tobacco for 2d. instead of 4d.—and so on through the various articles consumed by the poorer classes. (Cheers.) The gentleman who rode in his carriage, supported on springs, paid 6l. 10s. per annum towards the expenses of the last war; it was for nothing else—and the poor labourer could not wash his face, or put on a clean shirt, without contributing something to the same object. A man who had six windows in his house could not add another, to improve his prospect, or add to the health and comforts of himself or family, with-

out paying two guineas a year on account of the war. If a man looked into a newspaper to see the price of stocks, he was taxed for the information—if he bought an almanac for 2s., to number the days of the year, he was taxed fifteen-pence of the price. Even a bunch of matches was deemed a fit subject of taxation—it was even trebly taxed—the brimstone, the wood, and the string that tied them up, each were taxed. In short, every thing, whether consumed by the high or the low,—whether it was ate, drank, worn or read, was taxed; and all to pay the cost of the late war. (Cheers.) He was an advocate for equal laws for the poor and the rich, as well as equal taxation. If he saw a couple of poor men settling their differences by a fight, he could perceive no justice in sending them to the treadmill, for a breach of the peace, while gentlemen who fought duels were admired as bold fellows, and had their bravery recorded in the newspapers. (A laugh.) Neither did he think it right that a poor man who took a hack horse for twenty days, should be taxed 1s. 6d. per day, thus paying 30s., while a man who could afford to keep a horse of his own, in his own stable, was taxed only 24s. for three hundred and sixty-five days. He complained, too, of the oppressive operation of the heavy probate duties on personal property, while real and entailed estates were left untouched. (Cheers.) The existence of slavery he had ever considered a blot on our national character. We had heard from year to year, that it would be done away. If it were asked, when? it was answered, as soon as possible. So it had gone on from time to time; and he was afraid, if we had to rely upon the disposition of the planters, or of some ministers of the Government,—he did not say all of them, we should be no nearer to the attainment of our wishes than we were at first. (Cheers.) There was yet the same want of reading and instruction; but we could not be surprised that those who deprived the negro of his liberty, shall endeavour to keep him in ignorance of his God, and to rob him of his Sabbath. But if the

Reformed Parliament did not abolish this abominable system, he, for one, should be much mistaken. (Cheers.) He did not mean to speak with severity of all slave-owners; for many had inherited their estates from their forefathers; but knowing how prone was the heart of man to the infliction of wrong, he thought the power to torment our fellow-creatures ought to be taken away, that the temptation to use it might cease to exist. (Cheers.) After alluding to the evils resulting from the East India Company's monopoly, the injustice done to the millions of our fellow-subjects in India by the Government of the Company, reprobating the boast of the latter, that they derived a large revenue by encouraging the debasing superstitions of the country, and expressing his ardent hope that he should shortly see the day when the searching hand of reform would redress the grievances existing in the Eastern world, as well as in our Colonial possessions in the West Indies. Mr. Pease proceeded to say that he knew the question of reform in the church establishment of this country was one on which the people felt deeply and keenly at the present moment. He thought it was "too bad" that a farmer in casting up his accounts at a year's end, could not do so without seeing such a desperate blotch on the debtor side of his book, in the shape of outgoings for tithes. (Cheers and laughter.) He knew the difficulties of the subject, and felt them acutely. He was anxious, above all things, for the spread of godliness: but he could not shut his eyes to the abuses of the establishment. (Cheers.) He could not but say that there was something very wrong in it; and that it was time there was a reform there. (Loud cheers.) There was a wide difference between the honey-bees and the drones. (A laugh.) And he was of opinion, that as tithes and all other offerings were given as a means to an end, Parliament and the Government would do right if, while they paid every attention to justice and religion, they were to consider how far the means contributed to that end. (Cheers.) He would not shut his eyes to the benefits

of the establishment; and he was one of those who would not refuse the right hand of fellowship to the minister who made the object of his care the cure of souls and that alone—but with the man who spent his time in imitating the follies of the day, and who looked not even after the bodies, much less the souls, of his flock, with such a man he would have no communion. (Cheers.) He would not destroy the church for mere love of change; nor would he consent to pull down (as we understood him to say) one stone of the edifice, unless he could replace it with a better. He would not deprive the church of its ornaments and beauties; but he would wish to see it distinguished by that alone which was really beautiful and enduring. (Cheers.) Mr. Pease concluded an eloquent and impressive speech by saying, that without meaning anything in the shape of reproach to either of his brother candidates, he must declare that he would never attempt to win the favour of any part of the county by a course of personal conduct which was foreign to his habits and principles. He could not attend races, or dinners, or balls; he could not engage in fox-hunting, or the pursuit of the pleasures and amusements of society. He had between 4 and 500 men in his employment, who, for their interests and for his, required to be looked after with a watchful and an attentive eye. He could not, he said, do these things, unless he wished to throw his workmen out of employment, to ruin his wife and family, and to send himself into the Gazette. (Cheers and laughter.) But he could make arrangements which, at a definite period of the year, would enable him to serve the division in Parliament; and as he had hitherto worked industriously to serve himself, he was now ready to devote his time and his industry to serve his country. (Cheers.) All that he could promise was, that if the Almighty should bless him with life and health, and inspire him with the same sense of duty, what honesty, morality, and religion required of him, he would continue faithfully, zealously, and conscientiously to discharge, as a representative of free-

born Englishmen and of the electors of the southern division of the county of Durham. (Loud cheers.)

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

LETTER V.

"I would inculcate one truth with peculiar earnestness; namely, that a *revolution* is not the necessary consequence of a national *bankruptcy*."—*Pursuits of Literature*.

GENTLEMEN,—Before we resume the discussion relating to *Pitt's grand sinking fund*, which want of room obliged us to break off at the close of the last Letter, I think it may be useful to submit to you here an observation or two, calculated to obviate any unfounded apprehensions that might otherwise be excited by the apparently inevitable fate of the paper-money; and this I deem the more necessary, as publications are daily appearing from the pens of ignorant or interested persons, the evident tendency, and indeed object, of which is to persuade the public that the existence of the Government, that the existence of law and order, that the safety to persons and property, nay, that the continuance of the very breath in our nostrils, depend upon the credit of the bank-notes.

The author, from whose writings I have taken my motto to this present number of my work, was, you see, of a very different opinion; and I have quoted his sentiment upon the subject, because his work is well known to be of what is called the ANTI-JACOBIN kind, that is to say, a work, the tendency of which is to prevent men like you from having any thing to say or to do, any more than your horses, in the affairs of government. This writer, who, however, might mean well, and who is certainly a very clever man, so far from supposing that the existence of the government depended upon the credit of bank-notes, is, you see, fixed in his opinion, and an opinion that he wishes "to inculcate with peculiar earnestness," that a REVOLUTION, thereby meaning a change in the form of government, is *not* the necessary consequence, even of a national bankruptcy;

that is to say, not only a total discredit of all the paper-money and especially the Bank-of-England notes, but also an utter inability to pay, in any way whatever, the interest upon the National Debt, or any part of it.

This is my opinion also, as it always has been since I turned my attention to the subject. At the beginning of the present war, Mr. ADDINGTON, who was then the Prime Minister, told the House of Commons, that one of his principal objects in laying on the Property Tax and other war taxes, was, "to convince Buonaparté, that it was *hopeless* for him to contend with our *finances*." To which the MONITEUR, or French government-newspaper, replied: "Pay your bank-notes in gold and silver, and then we will believe you, without your going to war."*

Whether the Minister made good his promise; whether he has convinced Buonaparte, that, it was "*hopeless* for him to contend with our *finances*," you, gentlemen, are as likely to be able to judge as anybody that I know. I, for my part, blamed the Minister for holding out such a *motive* for his taxing measures. I said to him: The true way of convincing your enemy, that this war upon your finances will be useless, is to state explicitly to the world, that you are not at all afraid of the consequences of what is called a national bankruptcy; for, while you endeavour to make people believe that such an event *cannot possibly happen*, they will certainly think that you regard it, if it should happen, as *irretrievable ruin and destruction*; and, therefore, as you never can quite overcome their apprehensions, the best way is to be silent upon the subject, or, to *set the terrific bug-bear at defiance*. To Buonaparté's exultation at our approaching bankruptcy, the answer is always ready: France has been a bankrupt; France has not paid her paper-money in specie; yet, France is not the weaker for that; France is, in spite of her ruined finances, in spite of the long pamphlets of Sir Francis D'Ivernois and

* Register, vol. 3, p. 948, June, 1803.

Mr. Rose, in spite of the longer speeches of Lord Mornington, Lord Auckland, and Mr. Pitt, in spite of the innumerable columns of figures which these noblemen and gentlemen have drawn up in battle array against her; in spite of all this, France is yet powerful, yea, much more powerful than she was before she experienced what is called a national bankruptcy. What ground, therefore, have the French to rejoice at our finances being about to undergo a similar operation?

Such were my sentiments and my reasoning upon this subject, seven years ago; a time, when to pronounce the word *depreciation*, as applied to bank-notes, was sure to expose a man to charges very little short of *treason*, which charges were made by those very persons who have now declared the greater half of our bank-notes to be "*destructive assignats*," and who have called them "*vile and dirty rags*." My opinion was, and it still is, that the total destruction of the paper-money would not cause any change injurious to this kingdom; and, indeed, I should have a most hearty contempt for the constitution and for the whole form and composition of our Government, if I thought that their existence depended upon the credit of bank-notes. There are however, those who think just the reverse; and these are, too, writers, who appear to be entirely devoted to the Government: one of whom goes so far as to say, that the Government has *no other trust-worthy support* than that which it derives from the bank-notes. "The human mind," says he, "is sensible only of the present good, or evil, and has too little thought to anticipate consequences, and if it was not for the immediate personal interest of a very large and informed part of the community in the national debt, patronage and paper currency, GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE NO EXISTENCE, standing insulated on the pure basis of duty, and remote national and respective good. The conduct of Sweden, America, Ireland, and the Jacobins of England, in their partiality for France, exemplify a want of sense to execute

"the maxims of EPICURUS; the paper currency of bank-notes (there should be no country bank) offers to Government a *most indestructible support*, because IT MAKES THE DAILY BREAD OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL DEPEND SUBSTANTIALLY ON THE SAFETY OF GOVERNMENT, whereas money, which may be hoarded, separates the individual from the public safety. In the present revolutionary state of the world, I think our paper currency a most *miraculous mean of salvation*, and the man who would propose the payment of bank-notes in specie at any period, to separate individual property from public safety, might as well propose the burning of the navy to protect the commerce of the world!"*

Gentlemen, do you remember the writings of PAINE? Do you remember the *Rights of Man*, for the writing of which the author was prosecuted by the then Attorney-General, who is now the Lord Chancellor? Do you remember the *Rights of Man*, the author of which was prosecuted, and, being absent, was outlawed; the publishers of which were prosecuted all over the kingdom; the circulating of which was forbidden by proclamation; and, to counteract the principles of which, ASSOCIATIONS were formed of the rich and the powerful? Well, it was in this very work that the doctrine here laid down by this government writer was first started. PAINE said, that the *existence of the Government depended upon the existence of the bank-notes*, and that the question was not *how long the British Government would stand*, but *how long the funding system would last*. PAINE's mode of reasoning was, if I am correct in my recollection, as nearly as possible like that of this government writer. He laid it down as an admitted fact, that the people (owing to causes that he stated) must be *wholly indifferent about the fate of the Government*; but that, as so many of them were, either by holding stocks or bank-notes, interested

* MORNING Post newspaper: 14th Sept. 1810.

in the fate of the Government, they would, *while the stocks or bank-notes lasted*, continue to support the Government, whatever might be their feelings towards it. But, that when, from whatever cause, the funding system should fail, not a soul would be found to lift a finger, or even to express a wish, in favour of the existence of the Government.

Just the same, or rather more, is now said by this government writer—a writer, one-half of whose pages are filled with invectives against those whom he calls the friends of the Emperor of France. But how is it possible for anything to be written more agreeable to the Emperor Napoleon than what this writer has put forth? Until now the world has been told that we entertained a real *love for our Government*; that we were attached to our constitution because it afforded such fine *protection* to our *persons* and our *property*; that we loved the constitution, because it insured to us the enjoyment of *liberty*, and defended us against every species of *oppression*; that we had made numerous sacrifices, and that we were ready to make as many more, nay, even “to spend our *last shilling*, and shed the *last drop of our blood*,” for the sake of these *liberties*, and in defence of a *king*, whom we so *dearly loved*, and in gratitude for the blessings enjoyed during whose reign we held a jubilee. Until NOW this is what the world has been told. But NOW it is told, by this loyalty-professing writer, that the only motive whence we support the Government at all, is to preserve the value of the bank-notes that we hold; that, if it was not for the immediate personal interest of so many people in the *national debt*, and for *patronage* and *paper currency*, the Government could have *no existence*; that we support the Government because, without its existence, the bank-notes would fall, and because, by the number of bank-notes, we are thus made to depend upon the safety of Government *for our daily bread*; and that, therefore, the man who would propose the payment of bank-notes in gold and silver at

any period, might as well propose the *burning of the navy*, or, in other words, the giving up of the country to France.

What, gentlemen! are we never then to see gold and silver again? Every Minister; every member of Parliament; every one of those who endeavoured to palliate the measure of protecting the Bank Company from paying their notes in gold and silver; every one of them “*lamented the necessity*,” as they called it, of the measure. But NOW, behold, we are told that it was a *good thing*; and not only a good thing, but that *the Government could not exist without it!* Gentlemen, we call ourselves a “*thinking people*,” but, believe me, that this is what would not have been said to any other civilized people upon earth.

We might here easily show how encouraging a prospect doctrines of this sort hold out to our enemy, and how strong an inducement to use all those means, whether in the way of attack or of menace, which are likely to destroy the credit of the paper money; that being, if these doctrines be sound, the sure and certain way of destroying our Government. But another opportunity will offer for observations upon these matters; and it is now time that we return to our inquiry into the SINKING FUND.

In the last letter, having stated the provisions, made in the acts of 1786 and 1792, for the nation's *ceasing to pay interest* upon the stock that should be redeemed, or bought up by the commissioners, after the year 1808; or in other words, the nation's *ceasing to pay taxes* on account of the stock, or part of the debt, which should be bought up after that time; having stated these provisions, we were proceeding to inquire—*What was done in the long-expected year, 1808!* What was done *when the year of promise came?*

Why, my neighbours, *nothing at all was done*: just nothing at all in the way provided for. The nation ceased to pay *no dividends of interest*: and, of course, this work of redemption caused *none of its taxes to be taken off*. “Well,” say you, “but is it possible, that, after such

"a solemn proceeding; after the *express and positive* declaration in two acts of Parliament, that the dividends of interest *should* cease to be paid in 1808; is it possible that, after that, all the dividends did continue to be paid, *just the same as if those acts had never been passed?*" O, yes! It is not only *possible* to be so, but it *is* so. All the dividends have continued to be paid; and *are paid to this day*. The above-mentioned provisions, in the acts of 1786 and 1792 *were repealed*. The Parliament undid what it had before done. It did away the provisions which it had made in 1786 and 1792. It passed another act, which said that those provisions should not be carried into effect; or in other words, that which was *law* before was no *longer law*.

This new act was passed in the month of June, 1802; ADDINGTON, the successor and the friend of PITT, being then minister. This act (which is chap. 71 of the 42d year of the reign of George III.) is entitled, "An act to amend and *RENDER MORE EFFECTUAL* two acts passed in the twenty-sixth and thirty-second years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the reduction of the national debt." The act, which was to render those two acts *more effectual*, sets out by stating, that the said two acts had been by experience found "to be attended with *most beneficial consequences* to the *public credit* of the country;" and, having made that declaration, it sets to work, and repeals the two provisions above-mentioned; and, of course, when the year 1808 came, when the year of expectations arrived, *no dividends* ceased to be paid, and *interest* upon the whole of the debt was still paid, and is still paid to this day.

Gentlemen, it is hardly to be believed, that any men, who, like PITT and his associates and supporters, had invented and caused to be passed, the two first-mentioned acts, could propose the last-mentioned act, that is to say, the act of 1802. Not only, however, did they propose it, but the ANTI-JACOBIN writers laughed in our faces and called us fools, if not levellers and Jacobins, if we

ventured to express any doubt at all of the wisdom and justice of any of these successive measures; and, these writers stoutly denied, *that it ever was intended to take off any of the taxes in 1808*; and, of course, they maintained, that we, who felt disappointment in this respect, were fools for our pains, and, indeed, they expressed themselves thus, that we were "*nature's fools*," and not the fools of the minister.

Never, surely, were any portion of mankind treated with such barefaced contempt as the people of England were, at the time referred to, by the venal writers of newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, and reviews, who, seeing the people terrified out of their senses, by alternate alarms within and without, seemed to think that he was the best man who could show the greatest degree of scorn for their understanding and character. Had not this been their persuasion, would they have dared to tell us, that *none but fools ever expected the sinking fund to produce a repeal of taxes*, when it must still remain in the memory of every man, who was then at all conversant in political matters, that the *repeal of taxes*; the *lessening of the taxes*; the making of their *burdens less*, was the promise held forth to the people by the supporters of PITT; nay, when it is notorious, that PITT owed the establishment of his tremendous power to the opinion which the people entertained, that he had discovered, and would put in practice, the means of *reducing the load of their taxes*? This, as the great end of his schemes, was so much talked of; it is so well known, that this was so distinctly stated in the speeches of Parliament, and so many times repeated, that I am almost ashamed to trouble you with any proof of the fact; yet, considering that the point is of great importance, I will put the matter beyond all dispute by a reference to a work on the increase of the *resources* of the kingdom, published in 1799, under the name of GEORGE ROSE, who was then a secretary of the Treasury, and who is now treasurer of the Navy and a privy-counsellor, and who, in the ex-

cution of the work about to be cited, was, doubtless, assisted by PITT himself. Indeed, this must have been the case; or, at least, it must be believed, that nothing upon such a subject, and under the name of his official secretary, would be published without PITT's previous approbation. In this work, which is entitled, "A brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Manufactures of Great Britain, from 1792 to 1799." In this work the hopeful effects of the sinking funds of 1786 and 1792 are pointed out, and the writer says: "By the operation of these sinking funds, without any further intervention of Parliament, the one existing before the war will attain its *maximum* (4,000,000*l.* a year) most probably, in 1808, in no case later than February, 1811. As the *dividends* due on such parts of the old debt as shall be paid off after the sinking fund shall have attained its *maximum*, and the annuities which shall afterwards fall in, will be at the disposal of Parliament, the period of **REPEALING TAXES** annually, to an amount equal thereto, cannot be delayed more than nine, ten, or eleven years."

Need I ask you, gentlemen, whether you have heard of any *repealing of taxes*? Whether you have *felt* your *load of taxation* lightened? Whether you pay *less* taxes than you paid when this placeman wrote his book in 1799? No: these questions I need not put to you; nor need I ask you what are your feelings towards those who fed you with hopes of a diminution of your burdens; nor need I perhaps, say one more word upon the subject of the *sinking fund*; not to have seen through which by this time would argue a much greater want of discernment than I am disposed to attribute to any part of my countrymen, and especially to you, whose discerning faculties have, as to matters of this sort, been, of late, pretty well sharpened by experience. Nevertheless, with the hope of leaving no possibility of bewildering anybody in future, with regard to the nature or effect of the *sinking fund*, I shall add some additional

remarks; but, as these remarks will open to us quite new views of the matter, and will extend to some length, I shall postpone them to my next; and I remain, in the meanwhile,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Monday, Sept. 17, 1810.

P.S. A pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee," has just been published by Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, who is, it seems, a member of Parliament, and who is said to have been recently made a privy-counsellor. So much of such gross ignorance, in so short a compass, I do not recollect to have met with in the course of my reading, except, perhaps, in the *Morning Post* newspaper, or in the *British Critic Review*. Such a publication would be wholly unworthy of serious notice, were it not pretty evidently the vehicle of the sentiments and views of others. For this reason, some of its prominent absurdities will be noticed, when I come to that part of my subject to which they more particularly belong. In the mean time, in order to furnish the means of judging of this writer's depth of understanding, take the following specimen from a former work of his, and compare his theory with the practice now before our eyes. "The PUBLIC DEBTS of a nation not only *attract riches from abroad*, with a species of magnetic influence, but they also *retain money at home*, which *otherwise would be exported*, and which, if sent to other countries, might possibly be attended with pernicious consequences to the state, whose wealth was carried out of it. If France, for example, maintained its wars *by borrowing money*, and England *raised all its within the year*, the necessary consequence would be, that all the loose and unemployed money of England, would *naturally be transmitted to France*, where it would be placed out to advantage." This is quite sufficient. The next time that Sir JOHN thinks of writing upon

matters of this sort, he will do well to go, previously, and take a lesson of Mrs. DE YONOE. She will be able to tell him for a certainty, whether national debts have a tendency to *keep money at home, to prevent it from being exported, and to bring money from abroad.* She will also be able to give him a lesson upon *depreciation*, in a way which, perhaps, will make the thing comprehensible even to him.

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, OCT. 26, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

COMINS, J., and J. Tregoning, Manchester, calico-printers.
MASON, T. M., Baker-street, Portman-sq., bookseller.

BANKRUPTS.

BARROW, J., Failsworth, Lancashire, victualler.
BOULTER, D., Quadrant, Regent-street, tobacconist.
BOWYER, E., Martin's-lane, Cannon-street, broker.
DAVIES, J., late of Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, dealer in coals.
GARBETT, R., Shiffoall, Shropshire, grocer.
LUMSDEN, N., Swansea, Glamorgaushire, and Waterford, Ireland, merchant.
LUPTON, J., and J. Hudson, Wakefield, commission wool-agents.
PARKER, J., Webber-row, victualler.
PIPER, T., Walsall, Staffordshire, grocer.
PROCTOR, J., Gould-square, Crutched-friars, wine-merchant.
REEVES, W., and G. King, Ludgate-street, jewellers.
SANDFORD, J., Manchester, shopkeeper.
TAYLOR, W., Toxteth-park, Lancashire, stone-mason.
BLACK, R. W., Hanley, Staffordshire, dealer in drugs.
BORN, J., Sackville-st., Piccadilly, and G. Robins, Titchborne-street, surgeons.
BOSTON, J. T., Parish-street, Horslydown, yarn-spinner.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

RELL, P., Cupar, Fife, bookseller.
W, J. and G., Glasgow, cabinet-makers.

STODART, L., and A. Martin, Leith, wholesale merchants.

TUESDAY, OCT. 30, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

EMDIN, R., Bristol, straw-hat-manufacturer.
SCOTT, A., Francis-street, Tottenham-court-road, cabinet-maker.
TAYLOR, T., Egham, Surrey, tallow-chandler.
UDALL, J., Upper-street, Islington, carpet-warehouseman.

BANKRUPTS.

CARTER, H., Hastings, Sussex, chemist.
GIBSON, J., Manchester, innkeeper.
GODFREY, W. T., Wolverton, Buckinghamshire, miller.
LANCASHIRE, J., Draycott-field, Derbyshire, miller.
LINDSAY, J. jun., Warnford-court, merchant.
M'LAREN, G., Manchester, rope-maker.
NAYLOR, W., Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, glass-manufacturer.
PARKER, W., Leeds, tea-dealer.
REYNOLDS, R., Manchester, cabinet-maker.
RUTTER, P., Chapel-place, Brompton, Treluck-terrace, Pimlico, Duke-st., St. James's, and Piccadilly, livery-stable-keeper.
SANDS, R. sen., Brewer's-street, St. Pancras, engraver.
SMITH, P., Bexhill, Sussex, wine-merchant.
TYLER, J., Blackman-street, Borough, linen-draper.
WILLIAMS, J., High st., Newington, linen-draper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCT. 29.—Although the arrivals of grain last week were small, and but a moderate supply of wheat fresh in this morning from the home counties, yet the trade was very heavy, at a reduction of 2s. per qr. from the quotations of last Monday. Fine old wheat maintained last week's prices, but the demand was very limited, being chiefly confined to necessitous buyers, in small quantities.

We had but little barley at market this morning, and but few samples of malting quality, for which higher prices were asked, but could not be obtained, and were afterwards disposed of at the prices of this day week, and the stained sorts that were in good

condition were taken off by the distillers on the same terms as last Monday.

White and grey peas were heavy sale at last week's prices.

The oat trade was dull, but not cheaper—the supply being small.

Wheat	56s. to 58s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	42s. to 44s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	19s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 53s.	
Pork, India, new ... 130s. 0d. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 82s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.	
— Cork ... 82s. to 83s.	
— Limerick ... 82s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 76s. to 81s.	
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 78s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... —s. to —s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 42s.	
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 66s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Oct. 29.

This day's supply of beasts was good, but not quite so numerous as was that of this day se'nnight; of sheep (lamb having become mutton, and consequently gone out of season), calves, and porkers, rather limited. The trade was throughout dull; with prime small mutton at an advance; prime beef, veal, and pork, at a depression of full 2d. per stone; with the middling and inferior kinds of beef and mutton at Friday's prices.

Full two-thirds of the beasts were about equal numbers of Irish and short-horns, for the most part steers and heifers, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamp-

tonshire; three-twelfths about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welch runts, principally from our western and midland districts; and the remaining twelfth Town's-end cows, with a few Sussex steers and heifers, Scots, Staffords, &c., from various quarters. About three-fourths of the sheep were new Leicesters, from the South Down and Coteswold crosses; an eighth about equal numbers of Kents and Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Lincolns, and polled Norfolks; with a few horned Aberdeeners, Dorsets, Welch, &c.

Beasts, 3,295; sheep, 18,240; calves, 163; pigs, 240.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 2.

The arrivals this week are small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	84	84½	84½	84	84½	84½

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JOHN DEAN,

Newsman in general.

London, 2. Oct., 1832.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.